

An Imperial Assemblage at Delhi three thousand years ago.—
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The Imperial Assemblage to be held at Delhi on the 1st of next month cannot fail to recall to the mind of oriental scholars the description, given in the Mahábhárata, of a similar gathering held there upwards of three thousand years ago. Then, as now, the object was the assumption of paramount power by a mighty sovereign. Then, as now, princes and potentates came from all parts of India to do homage to one who was greatly their superior in power, wealth, and earnest devotion to rule honestly and paternally. Then, as now, the feeling of allegiance was all but universal. But noteworthy as these points of similitude are, there are others which place the two assemblages in marked contrast. The one was held by men who had barely emerged from a state of primitive simplicity in the infancy of human society; the other is to be inaugurated under all the refinements and paraphernalia of the highest civilization. The one borrowed all its sanctity from religion; the other depends for its glory on political and material greatness. The one was purely national; the other brings into the field a dominant foreign power. There are other points, equally remarkable, both of similitude and of divergence, which afford singular illustrations of the state of political ideas at immensely remote periods; and a short account of the ancient ceremonial may not, therefore, be uninteresting at the present time.

The ceremony, in ancient times, was called the *Rájasúya*, or that which can be effected only by a king—from *Rájan* 'a king' and *shu* 'to be effected'. This derivation, however, is not universally accepted. Some interpret the term to mean the ceremony at which the *Soma* juice is produced, from *rájá* 'moon' for the moon-plant, and *su* 'to bring forth'; but as there are a hundred different rites at which the brewing of the *Soma* beer is an essential requirement, while it is distinctly laid down, that none but a king who can command the allegiance of a large number of tributary princes, and who is, or wishes to be,* a universal monarch, exercising supremacy over a large number of princes, should perform it, the first derivation appears to be the right one,—at least it conveys an idea of the true character of the ceremony, which the other does not. Yájñika-deva, in his commentary on the Śrauta Sútra of Kátyáyana, explains the word *rájá* in the first aphorism on the subject, to mean a Kshatriya,† without specifying that he should be a king, and this may at first sight suggest the idea that any Kshatriya,

* राजा स्वाराज्यकामो राजसूयेन यजेत । Taittiriya Bráhmaṇa.

† राज्ञ राजसूयः ॥ १ ॥ स चायं राजशब्दः क्षत्रियजातिनिमित्तः ।

whether a sovereign or not, may perform it ; but the context shows clearly that a king was a *sine qua non*, and none but a king could undertake the rite. According to the S'ástras, none but a Kshatriya was fit for royalty, and the use of the word *rájan* both for a king and a man of the Kshatriya caste was so common, that in interpreting it, in particular passages the context is always looked upon as the safest guide to its true meaning. If we assume, however, that Kátyáyana wished only to indicate the caste of the performer, with a view to exclude the other castes, without caring to point out his political position, the interpretation of the scholiast would be open to no exception.

From its very nature a ceremony like the Rájasúya could not be common anywhere, or at any time, much less during the Hindu period, when India was never held by a single monarch. It was then divided into many kingdoms, principalities and chiefships, each enjoying perfect autonomy, and entertaining more or less jealousy, not unoften amounting to hostility, or even violent animosity, against each other, and a universal sovereignty like that of the autocrat of Russia was perfectly impossible. The language of praise or flattery has doubtless often declared particular sovereigns to have been *Chakravartins* or emperors ; but the reality, as regards the whole of India, was never accomplished. It is unquestionable that in rare instances, such as those of Chandragupta and Asoka, many sovereigns acknowledged subordination to some mighty monarch or other, and the weaker ones paid tribute, but their autonomy was rarely sacrificed, and their alliances generally bore the character of confederacies, or federal union, and not that of feudal baronies subject to a ruling chief, and under no circumstances were servile duties, such as under the feudal system the Barons in Europe were obliged to render their suzerains, ever exacted from the tributaries. The bond between them was, besides, of the feeblest kind, and snapt at every favourable opportunity. In the Vedic period even such monarchic federations on a very large scale were any thing but common, and the rite of *Mahábhisheka*, or imperial baptism, which follows the Rájasúya, was administered to only a few. The Aitareya Bráhmaṇa of the Rig Veda affords a curious illustration of this fact. After describing the ritual of the Mahábhisheka, with a view to point out its high importance, the author of that work gives a list of the persons who had been inaugurated by that rite, and of the priests who officiated thereat, and it includes only ten names.* The list does not, it is

* The list includes the following names: 1. Janamejaya, son of Parikshit, inaugurated by Taru, son of Kavasha. 2. Sárýáta, son of Manu, anointed by Chyavana, son of Bhrigu. 3. Somaśushmá, son of Vájaratna, by S'atánika, son of Satrujit. 4. Ambashṭya, by Parvata and Nárada. 5. Yudhámśrausṭi, son of Ugrasena, by Parvata and Nárada. 6. Vis'vakarmá, son of Bhuvana, by Káśyapa. 7. Sudás, son of Puja-

true, profess to be exhaustive; but the necessity felt for such a list and its meagreness suffice to show, that the rite was but rarely performed, and even the knowledge of its ritual among the priesthood was not common. The Rámáyana describes the rite as celebrated by Rámachandra, but there is no description of it in any later work; and no manual for its performance has yet been met with.

The description of the Rájasúya in the Mahábhárata is a popular poetical one, loaded with much that is mythical, and a considerable amount of exaggeration; but it is the best known all over India, and comprises the fullest account of its exoteric characteristics. Yudhishthira, the hero of it, lived, according to Hindu chronology, in the last century of the third cycle or the Tretá Yuga, *i. e.* five thousand one hundred and fifty years ago; but recent researches of oriental scholars are fatal to his claim to so remote an antiquity. A careful study of the lists of ancient kings given in the Puráṇas, allowing an average reign of sixteen years to each king, would bring him to the twentieth century before the Christian era. But even this is not tenable. On the other hand the existence, in the Aitareya Bráhmaṇa, of the name of Janamejaya, son of Parikshit, who is evidently the same with the sovereign named in the Mahábhárata, and the grandson of Arjuna brother of Yudhishthira, would force the inference that he lived long before that portion of the Rig Veda came into existence; and the lowest estimate possible appears to be somewhat over twelve centuries before the era of Christ.

Yudhishthira and his four brothers lost their father Páṇḍu,* king of Hastinápura, at an early age; and during their minority the management of their paternal state fell into the hands of their uncle Dhritaráshṭra, under whose guardianship they were brought up. Dhritaráshṭra was senior to Páṇḍu, and would have, under ordinary circumstances, inherited the principality of Hastinápura. But as he was born blind, his claims were set aside, according to Hindu law, in favour of his younger brother. The principality having, however, come to his hands during the minority of his nephews, court intrigue was brought into play, when the youths came of age, to prevent their coming into possession of even a portion of their patrimony. The sons of Dhritaráshṭra were most inimical to them, and domestic dissensions were frequent and serious. To prevent these unseemly disputes, the

vana, by Vaśishṭha. 8. Marutta, son of Avikshit, by Samvarta, son of Aṅgiras. 9. Aṅga *alias* Alopáṅga by Udamaya, son of Atri. 10. Bharata, son of Dushyanta, by Dírghatamas, the son of an unmarried woman.

* The word means "pale yellow" and is ordinarily used to indicate jaundice. Mr. Wheeler opines that it is a euphemism for white leprosy, but there is nothing to justify the theory. Kuntí is said to have selected him from out of a whole host of princes at a grand sayañvara; and no damsel is ever likely to select a leper for her consort.

Páṇḍava brothers were sent away to Váraṇávrata, modern Alláhábád, where, it was thought, they would be beyond the reach of their intriguing cousins. But those who interested themselves in the welfare of the Páṇḍavas were doomed to disappointment. The palace, which the five brothers and their mother occupied at Váraṇávrata, was, one night, set on fire, and they had to fly for life, and, for some time after, to keep themselves secreted in jungle and unfrequented places, or roam about as beggars. At last they effected an alliance with the powerful king Drupada of Panchála (modern Kanauj), whose daughter they married at a Sayañvara, and through his influence and that of their cousin-german Kṛishṇa, obtained a small tract of land for their share with the town of Indraprastha for their capital. Here they established themselves, and laid the foundation of what afterwards became a mighty empire.

Close by Indraprastha, there happened to be a large forest,* which the Páṇḍavas burnt down and cleared, and by dint of perseverance, and gradual encroachment on the possessions of their less energetic neighbours, raised their little tract of land to the rank and position of a respectable principality. Alliances with some of the aboriginal races also helped them to rise in power; and the extension of their possessions towards the west and the south-west, where they met with little opposition, soon enabled them to assume a high position among the crowned heads of India. A magnificent palace, called a *Sabhá* or 'audience chamber', was next built in the capital, and it proved to be the finest work of art that had ever been produced in this country. A Titan (Dánava) was its architect, and it was enriched with the most

* The existence of this forest has suggested to Mr. Wheeler the idea of Delhi, or the country about it, having been an outpost of the Aryans in India at the time of the Páṇḍavas, and the whole of his criticisms on the Mahábhárata is based upon this major. That there were many forests in the country three thousand years ago, is a truism which none can venture to question, but there is no valid reason to suppose that the Khaṇḍava forest was the *ultima thule* of the Aryans at the time in question. The line of argument which has brought the learned author to this conclusion, could be appealed to with great effect, to show that the jungle of Chataurá near Jagadispur in which the mutineers under Kumar Singh, found a shelter, was the outpost of the English ráj in 1858. To save his position, the author has been obliged to denounce the whole of the geography of the Mahábhárata as after thoughts. The poet says that Bhiśhma got into his chariot, went to Kási, and brought the three daughters of the king of that place, as brides for his younger brother, and the critic exclaims, "Kási is 500 miles from Hastinápur," and as no one could make the journey so easily and without attendants, the place meant must be a village in the neighbourhood of Hastinápora; as if it was absolutely necessary for a poet to give in detail the number of the attendants, the places where they halted, and the stages they travelled over. Chand, in the 12th century, with nearly as much laconic brevity, makes his hero Prithviráj travel to Kanauj from Delhi on a like mission, and it was crowned with equal success. It is not likely that any historian will question the truth of the elopement of the Princess of Kanauj.

precious materials that could be collected from the different parts of India, including some highly-prized stones from the Himálaya. Its description refers to flowers of crystal, partitions of glass, and marbles of all colours ; to spacious and lofty apartments, and doors and windows, terraces and gardens, artificial lakes and fountains. Much of this is doubtless due to the poet's imagination ; but there was nevertheless enough to make the owner proud of its possession, and to long to show it to his rivals. To inaugurate it by a grand festival was the first idea that occurred to his mind, and that suggested the ambitious scheme of celebrating the politico-religious sacrifice of the Rájasúya, and raising the principality to the rank of an empire.

This was, however, not an easy task to accomplish. Close by, to the north, there was Hastinápara, the capital of their ancestors, in the possession of their inveterate enemies the Kurus. To the east, Mathurá was held by a powerful sovereign. To the south, the king of Málava was a standing menace, and to the west there was the principality of Viráta,* which would not in a hurry yield to its neighbours. There were besides other mighty sovereigns in different parts of India, who were proud of their high position, and not at all disposed to succumb to what to them was a new-born and petty Ráj.

The most powerful king at the time, however, was Jarásandha, sovereign of Magadha. He had carried his victorious arms as far as Mathurá, and expelled therefrom the Yádavas, who had wrested it from a relative of his. His army was the largest and best-trained ; and he had already imprisoned ninety-seven princes with a view, when the number came up to a hundred and twelve, to offer them as a sacrifice to the gods, by way of a preliminary to his raising the white umbrella of imperial sovereignty. For the Páñdavas to wage war against him, with any hope of success, was out of the question, and no one in India could proclaim himself an emperor without bringing on a most desolating retribution from that monarch.

To remove Jarásandha from the field by other than open warfare was, therefore, the first scheme to which the Páñdavas set their head, and assassination was resolved upon as the only means feasible. Disguised as Bráhmaņas, Bhíma, Arjuna, and Kṛishṇa set out for Magadha, and, entering the palace by a back door, took him unawares, while he was engaged in his prayers, and killed him. The Mahábhárata gives a long account of the interview, and says, he was challenged to a single combat, and fell under the blows of Bhíma, the "wolf-stomached" hero. But this appears to be a euphemism for assassination, inasmuch as the Páñdavas were ever after

* The modern Bengal districts of Rangpur and Dinájpur to the north claim to be the ancient Viráta, but the cattle-lifting foray of the Kurus in the country of Viráta, described in the Viráta Parva of the Mahábhárata, leaves no doubt as to the true position of that country having been as given above.

accused of baseness for it, and no baseness could be predicated of a hero who challenged another to a single combat. However that may have been, it enabled the Pándavas to liberate the imprisoned chieftains, and, not only at once to secure to themselves their loyal adherence, but also to obtain a great accession of power and influence in different parts of India.

Four grand military expeditions were next organised, one to proceed to each quarter of India. Arjuna assumed the command of the army of the North, and, proceeding on, successively conquered, or otherwise brought into subjugation, the Kulindas, the Kálakúṭas, the Avarthas and the Śákala-dvípis. Thence he proceeded to Prágjyotisha, where he had to wage a protracted war against Bhagadatta, its king, who was ultimately obliged to purchase peace by the payment of a handsome tribute. Ascending the Himálaya, he encountered many petty chieftains, including those of Uluka, Modápura, Vainadeva, Sudáman, Susankula, North Uluka, Devaprastha and other places,—mostly robber chiefs,—as also the Kirátas and the Chínas. Turning then towards the west, he pushed on his victorious army through Káshmir to Balkh, burning and sacking several large towns in the way. Then turning back, he passed through Kámboja, Darada, and Uttara-rishika from all which places he obtained highly-prized horses as tribute, and arrived at the foot of Dhavalagiri, where he rested for awhile. Then he crossed the Himálaya and encountered the sovereigns of Kimpilla-varsha and Hálaka, the last in the neighbourhood of the Mánasarovara Lake; and lastly approached the confines of Uttara-kuru, which was inhabited by Gandharvas, the fabled choristers of Indra's heaven. Here he was met by ambassadors, who purchased peace for their sovereign by a present of some rich stuffs, jewels, valuable furs, and silken dresses.

The second expedition was headed by Bhíma, who proceeded to the east, taking in the way the country of his father-in-law Drupada in the Doab of the Ganges and Yamuná. Then crossing the Ganges he went southwards to Dasárna, and, taking the Pulindas in the way, arrived at Chedi, the country of Sisupála, who, being related to the Pándavas, readily acknowledged subordination, and paid a handsome tribute. Bhíma tarried at this place for a month, and then marched on successively to Kośala, Ayodhyá, Uttara Kośala, Mulla, and the Terai, whence descending down he conquered the king of Kási. His next encounter was with the Matsyas, then successively with the Maladas, Madadháras, the Batsabhumians, the Bhangas, the Santakas and Barmakas, and several Kiráta and other races, which he conquered, and, making an alliance with the king of Mithilá (Videha), came down to Magadha to collect tribute, having on a former occasion destroyed its valiant king Jarásandha. The son of Jarásandha joined his army along with several minor chiefs, and with them he proceeded to the country of his half brother Karṇa, (Bhágapur) who was

always inimical to the Páñdavás, and waged a protracted war in defence of his rights. But his efforts were of no avail, and he was ultimately made to negotiate for peace by the payment of a heavy indemnity. Bengal and its numerous petty chiefs next attracted the attention of Bhíma, and they were all overpowered and obliged to enrich the conqueror with large contributions of gold, silver, jewels, sandal-wood, agallochum, wool, and rich stuffs.

The army of the South, under Sahadeva, first overpowered the king of Mathurá, and then, proceeding through the northern parts of country now owned by Sindhia, in which it encountered and subjugated many hostile chiefs, came to the country of Kuntíboja. This aged monarch was the foster-father of Kuntí, the mother of the three elder Páñdavás; he welcomed the general with every mark of consideration, and readily entered into the scheme of his eldest grandson to assume the imperial title. He gave much wealth and valuable assistance in pushing on the expedition with success. Crossing the Chambal, Sahadeva came face to face with the heir of Jambhaka, an old enemy of Kṛishṇa. What the name of the prince was or of his country, is not given, but the prince was powerful and fought with great courage. He was, however, ultimately overpowered, and made to render homage and to pay an indemnity. The Narmaddá was next crossed, and Sahadeva, in his victorious march, successively made a lot of petty princes to acknowledge his supremacy, until he reached the Pandyan kingdom which held him at bay for a time. Kishkindá proved even more troublesome, and a treaty of amity and friendship was all that could be extorted from it. Beyond Kishkindá was the country of Mahisamati (probably Mysore) which was owned by a chief of great valour, who was especially favoured by the god Agni, who had seduced a daughter of the king, and afterwards married her, and promised protection to his father-in-law. Sahadeva and his army were no match for this mighty chief, and Agni so befriended his protégé by raining fire on every side that the assailants were well nigh overpowered. At this juncture Sahadeva sought the protection of Agni, and through his intervention effected a treaty of peace and friendship. The story of Agni affords an instance of the use of fire-arms in ancient times, and also a hint about the Nair custom of women not living under the protection of their husbands, but of cavaliers of their own choice; for in order to wipe off the stigma on the character of the princess, Agni, says the story, had ordained that women in Mahisamati should ever after lead a wanton life in public (*Aváraníyá*) independently of their husbands.

Proceeding further south from Mahisamati, Sahadeva subjugated several petty chiefs, as also several one-eyed, one-legged, or otherwise deformed races, described in the orthodox style of traveller's stories, and thence, through ambassadors, secured the allegiance of Draviḍa, Sarabhipaṭṭanam,

Támra island, Timiñgila, or the country of the whale, Kaliñga, Andhra, Udra, Kerala, Tálavana, Ceylon, and other places. On his way home, he passed along the western coast through Surat to Guzerat where he met Kṛishṇa and the other Yádava chiefs, and finally returned home, loaded with immense wealth and many valuable presents.

Nakula, at the head of the army of the West, first went to Rohitaka; thence towards southern Rájputáná to Mahettha, Sivi, Trigarta, Ambashṭha, Málava, Panchakarphaṭas, Mádhyamaka, Vátadhána; and, then retracing his steps to Pushkara, and next the Abhira country on the banks of the Sarasvatí, he marched on to the Panjáb, to the western frontier of which he encountered the Pahnava, Varvaras, Kirátas, Yavanas, and the S'akas, from all of whom he obtained valuable presents, and acknowledgment of allegiance.

In making the above abstract of the progress of the different armies, I have omitted several names of places and persons, and also used words to indicate directions which do not always occur in the original. The routes, as laid down in the Mahábhárata, are not always such as an invading army would, or conveniently could, take in its progress from Indraprastha, and many reasons suggest themselves to show that the poet was not quite familiar with the places he describes. Some of the discrepancies, however, may be due to my inability to identify the several places named, and to the possibility of there having existed more than one place of the same name, one of which is known to me, and the other not. Several districts in northern and eastern Bengal now claim to be the same with places named in the Mahábhárata, but which probably have no right to the pretension. In a few cases, there are two or three claimants for the same ancient name. As it is, however, not my intention here to enter into a critical analysis, but simply to quote the substance of what has been said, in connexion with the Rájasúya, in the Mahábhárata, by way of introduction to the rituals of the sacrifice as given in the Vedas, I need say nothing further on the subject. Those who are curious about the places named, and about the articles alleged to have been presented as tribute, which, to a certain extent, help the identification of those places, will find much interesting matter in the late Professor Lassen's learned essay on the Geography of the Mahábhárata, in the Göttingen Oriental Journal, and in Professor Wilson's paper on the Sabhá-parva in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of London.

On the return of the different expeditionary armies, a consultation was held as to the propriety of immediately commencing the ceremony, or deferring it to a future occasion. Kṛishṇa advised immediate action, and agreed to take upon himself the task of arranging everything for a successful issue. It was accordingly resolved that the ceremony should at once begin. Orders were thereupon issued to collect all the articles necessary for the rite; invitations were sent out to all relatives, friends, allies and tributaries, the

messengers being instructed to request the attendance of Vaiśyas and “all respectable Súdras”; Nakula was deputed to the old king Dhritaráshtra, the head of the family, to invite him and other Kaurava chiefs to grace the assembly by their presence; and ample provision was made for the accommodation and entertainment of the expected guests. The Bráhmaṇs were expected to come in from all parts of the country, and every one was to be received with due honour, and to be rewarded with rich presents. The invitations to the Vaiśyas and the Súdras, the agricultural and the servile classes, at a religious ceremony, and the use of the epithet *mánya* “respectable” or “venerable” as a predicate for individuals of the class originally formed of helots, are worthy of special note. “This is”, says Professor Wilson, “one of the numerous indications which the Mahábhárata offers of a state of public feeling and possibly of civil institutions which seems to have preceded even the laws of Manu.”*

The most important business in connexion with the sacrifice was the appointment of duly qualified priests, and the most renowned sages of the time were solicited to take parts in the grand ceremonial. Krishṇa-dvairpáyana Vyása, the natural father of both the Kurus and the Páṇḍavas, who was renowned for his thorough knowledge of the Vedas which he had arranged and classified, himself took the part of Brahmá or high priest. Susámá of the Dhananjaya clan was appointed the chief of Sáma singers. Yájnavalkya, the great lawgiver, was installed as Adhvaryu or the chief of the Yajur Vedic priests. Paila, son of Kasu, and Dhaumya, the family priest of Yudhishtira, undertook the duty of pouring out the oblations on the sacred fire (*hotá*); while a host of their pupils and others were employed to act as assistants and assessors to watch the proceedings and correct mistakes (*sadasya*).

“In due course and at the proper time, Yudhishtira was initiated into the ceremony by the assembled priests, and thus initiated and attended by his brothers and surrounded by thousands of Bráhmaṇs, relatives, friends, officers of State, and princes from different countries, he, resplendent as the incarnation of Dharma, entered the Sacrificial Hall. Learned Bráhmaṇs, versed in the Vedas and the Vedáṅgas, flocked from all parts of the country. Architects had, under the king’s orders, erected suitable abodes for them, and those abodes had beautiful awnings on the top, and were replete with furniture and articles of food and drink fit for all seasons of the year. Receiving the welcome of the king, the Bráhmaṇs dwelt therein, and passed

* Journal, Rl. As. Soc. VII. 138. In Mr. Wheeler’s version the epithets *sarvám mánýán* “all respectable” are placed against both the Vaiśyas and the Súdras, but the construction of the sentence requires that they should apply to the Súdras only, showing that the three twice-born classes were all welcome, whereas of the unregenerate Súdras, the “respectable” alone were admissible.

their time in entertaining conversation, in witnessing charming dances, and in listening to sweet music. The hum of Bráhmaṇs, full to satiety, fond of stories, and jubilant with delight, resounded every where. "Give away, and eat away" were the words which burst forth from every side. The virtuous king provided for each of his guests thousands of cows, bedding, gold, and damsels. Thus did the ceremony progress of the unrivalled and virtuous sovereign of the earth, the great Páṇḍava, who was like unto Indra, the lord of the immortals.* The provision of damsels for the service of Bráhmaṇ guests, reveals a curious feature in the manners, customs, and morality of the time under notice.

The list of crowned heads which assembled at the ceremony is a long one, but as it includes mostly the names of those who were subjugated by the brothers of Yudhisṭhira, and of the friends and relatives of the host, it is not necessary to reproduce it here. The leading chiefs of the Kaurava and the Yádava tribes were the most prominent among the guests. "To the guests were assigned dwellings replete with refreshments of every kind, and having by them charming lakes, and ranges of ornamental plants. The son of Dharma welcomed them in due form. After the reception, the princes repaired to the several houses assigned for their accommodation. Those houses were lofty as the peaks of the Kailása mountain, most charming in appearance, and provided with excellent furniture. They were surrounded by well-built high walls of a white colour. The windows were protected by golden lattices, and decorated with a profusion of jewellery. The stairs were easy of ascent; the rooms were furnished with commodious seats and clothing and garlands; and the whole was redolent with the perfume of the finest agallochum. The houses were white as the goose, bright as the moon, and looked picturesque even from a distance of four miles. They were free from obstructions, provided with doors of uniform height, but of various quality, and inlaid with numerous metal ornaments, even as the peak of the Himálaya. The princes were refreshed by the very sight of the mansions."†

With a view to prevent disorder, and to enforce discipline and the due despatch of business, Yudhisṭhira so arranged that each department of the ceremony should be placed under one of his principal relatives, or of a friend. To see to the proper distribution of food was the task assigned to Duhásana, brother of Duryodhana. To Ásvathámá, "a warrior Brahman of saintly descent," was assigned the duty of attending to the reception and entertainment of Bráhmaṇs, and to Sanjaya the same duty with reference to the regal and military guests. The venerable old chief Bhíshma and the equally venerable chief Droṇa were solicited to act as superin-

* Mahábhárata, Book II, chapter 32.

† Ibid., chapter 33.

tendent-generals, and to see that nothing went amiss. To Kripa, "another saintly personage", fell the duty of distributing presents of gold and jewels. Báhlika, Dhritarásht̥ra, Somadatta, and Jayadratha, were requested to act as masters of the ceremony; Duryodhana was requested to see to the due receipt of the presents and tributes brought by the assembled guests; and Kṛishṇa undertook to wash the feet of the Bráhmaṇs.

Passing over some fulsome panegyric on the profusion of wealth brought by the tributaries, and the lavish way in which it was distributed among Bráhmaṇs and others, we come to the last day of the ceremony, when Yudhisht̥hira sat amidst the assembled guests in imperial magnificence ready to receive the homage of all as the sovereign lord of India. The enthusiasm all round was overflowing, and the praises of the great chief resounded on every side. The priests had offered their last oblations on the sacred fire, and all eyes were turned towards "the observed of all observers", "the cynosure of every eye", to behold the crowning act of this majestic ceremony, the acknowledgement of allegiance to the noble chieftain. Bhíshma, at this moment, rose from his seat, and, advancing to the foot of the throne, addressed the chief, saying, "It is your duty, O chief, first to show your respect to the assembled guests. Six are the persons, who receive, on such occasions, that mark of respect, the *arghya*; and these are the tutor, the chief priest, the brother-in-law, the sprinkler of the holy water, the king, and the dearest friend. They have all assembled here, and abided with us for a year; let an *arghya* be prepared for each of them, and it is for you to select whom you would honour most."*

The offering proposed was not a part of the religious ceremony, but a mark of social distinction, and it consisted of flowers, sandal paste, a few grains of rice, and a few blades of Durva grass sprinkled with water. From what time this offering has been current in this country, it is impossible now accurately to determine; but there is no doubt that it has been known from a very early period, for it is named in old ritualistic works as an offering meet for gods. Ordinarily this is preceded by another offering called *Pádya*, or water for washing the feet. To a guest coming from a distance nothing is more refreshing in a hot climate, like that of India, than a wash, and essences and flowers immediately after it, cannot but be grateful. And what were at first necessities soon assumed the character of formal ceremonial acts, and to this day the offerings are regularly made in the orthodox form to bridegrooms and priests. In a modified form the *arghya* appears under the name of *mályā-chandana* or "flower garlands and sandal paste", which are offered to all guests on quasi-religious ceremonial occasions, such as marriages, *śráddhas*, &c., social distinction being indicated by the order in which the offering is made, the noblest guest getting it

* Mahábhárata, Book II, chapter 35.

first, and the rest successively according to their respective ranks. The law of precedence is strictly observed, and frequent disputes arise whenever there is a departure. Within the last fifty years there have been at least a dozen disputes in Calcutta alone about the claims of particular individuals to this honour. At other than religious or quasi-religious ceremonials, the sandal paste is replaced by otto-of-roses, and the garlands by bouquets. The Muhammadans in India adopted the custom from the Hindus, and at Darbárs substituted prepared betel leaf (*pán*) for the nosegay. In this last form the Governors-Generals and Viceroys of Her Britannic Majesty have hitherto honoured their Indian guests. Yudhishtira, knowing well how ticklish people were on the subject, declined to decide the question as regards the king who should first be honoured, and sought the advice of his friends.

Bhishma was of opinion that Krishna was the most renowned among the princes, and should first receive the mark of respect. Others also sided with him; and, the natural bearing of Yudhishtira being in favour of his dearly-beloved and faithful cousin, the offering was presented to him. The act, however, proved a veritable apple of discord. Sisupala, king of Chedi, could not at all tolerate it, and denounced it as grossly partial and unjust. In a long and eloquent speech he showed that Krishna was not a king, as his father and elder brother were living, and there were several potentates present who were infinitely his superior, and that on an occasion like the Rájasúya, the question of precedence was of vital importance, and should not be hastily disposed off. Addressing the Páñdavas and Bhishma, he said—

“In the presence of the assembled host of kings, Krishna is by no means entitled to this distinction. Through favour alone you have done him the honour, and it is unworthy of you. You are, however, young, and know nothing of what is becoming in such cases; the duty in such cases is a delicate one, while Bhishma (whose advice you have accepted) is narrow-minded, and has long since lost his senses. Time-serving saints like you, Bhishma, are detestable in the assembly of good men. Under what semblance of reason have you presented the *arghya* to Krishna who is not a king? and with what face has he, in an assembly like this, accepted the offering? Should you think him to be senior by age, he cannot in the presence of his father Vasudeva deserve the honour. It is true Krishna has always been a well-wisher and follower of you, sons of Kuru, but it is unbecoming of you to give him the precedence in the presence of (your father-in-law) king Drupada. If you have done him honour under the impression of his being an Acharya or expounder of the Sástras, you have been equally wrong, for he cannot claim precedence where the venerable professor Drona is present. Equally have you done wrong if you say that you have selected him as a priest (Ritvig) of the highest distinc-

tion, for he cannot earn that distinction in the presence of the hoary-headed Dvaipáyana (Vyása). How dare you raise Kṛishṇa to a higher position than that of such noble personages as the son of Sántanu, the noble Bhíshma who can command his own death, the valiant hero and highly learned Ásvathámá, the king of kings Duryodhana, the most learned professor of Bhárata, Kripa, the learned professor of Kimpurusha Druma, king Rukmí, and S'alya, king of Madra? Is it becoming that you should set aside the favourite pupil of Jamadagni, one who has, by his own valour, conquered, in fair fight, the whole race of kings, that valiant hero Karna in favour of Kṛishṇa? The son of Vasudeva is not a priest, nor a professor, nor a king, and you have selected him solely because you are partial to him. Besides, if you had made up your mind to honour Kṛishṇa, why have you insulted these kings by inviting them to such an assembly? We did not pay tribute to the honorable son of Kuntí from any fear, or flattery, or hopes of favour; we thought him engaged in a noble act and worthy of the rank of a suzerain, and therefore yielded to him; and he has failed to treat us with becoming respect. He has in this assembly offered the *arghya* to Kṛishṇa who is in no way deserving of it, and he could not have insulted us more seriously. The claim of the son of Dharma, to be the most virtuous, is false, for what virtuous person offers worship to one who is bereft of all merit? Yudhishṭhira has behaved meanly, and resigned all pretention to a sense of justice and duty, by offering the highest honour to that wicked scion of the Vrishṇi race who nefariously assassinated the noble king Jarásandha. The sons of Kuntí are, however, cowards, mean, and wandering beggars, and through their meanness they may offer you the honour; but it was your duty, Kṛishṇa, to reflect upon the propriety of the act. How could you, knowing yourself to be unworthy, barefacedly accept the offering? Even as a dog, having in private tasted a drop of butter, prides itself upon it; so are you feeling elated by the honour you have got; but know well that the offering is not an insult to the royal guests, but a ridicule cast on you. Even as the marriage of a eunuch, or the attempt of a blind man to enjoy the pleasures of colour, is absurd, so is the tribute of royalty paid to one who owns no kingdom. This act of to-day fully illustrates the nature of Bhíshma and Yudhishṭhira's claim to good sense, and the character of Kṛishṇa."* Saying this, he rose from his seat, and was about to leave the assembly along with some of the guests; when Yudhishṭhira came forward and tried his best to pacify the irate chief. Bhíshma, Bhíma, and others also interposed; but to no avail. Sísupála, naturally of an ungovernable temper, spoke in the most violent terms. He inveighed particularly against Bhíshma for his advice, and bitterly taunted Kṛishṇa for his many shortcomings. Words rose high, and the

* Mahábhárata, II, chapter 36.

tumult became general. The proud and martial spirit of many of the chiefs sided with the king of Chedi, and from words they rushed to arms, when Krishna, in a fit of passion, knocked off the head of Sisupala with his discus, and brought the tumult to an end.

Mr. Wheeler is of opinion that this legend has been engrafted by the Brahmanical compilers on the story of the Pandavas for a sinister purpose. His arguments are,* 1st, Because "the legend is at variance with the mythic account of the pavilions from which the Rajas are said to have beheld the sacrifice." 2nd, Because "it is of a character suited to the unruly habits of the Yadavas, but inconsistent with the Kshatriyas of the Royal house of Bharata, who were scrupulous in the observance of order and law." 3rd, Because "no trace of the custom appears in the ancient ritual of the Rajasuya as preserved in the Aitareya Brahmana." 4th, Because "the Rajasuya was a ceremony expressive of the superiority of the Raja who performed the sacrifice", and he could not be expected to honour another. 5th, Because "the custom of offering the *arghya* as a token of respect or act of worship belonged to the Buddhist period, and was essentially a form of worship antagonistic to that of sacrifice." The first argument is founded on a mistake. The sacrifice lasted for a whole year, and it is distinctly mentioned that the guests assembled in the Sacrificial Hall to be present at the imperial baptism when the dispute occurred. The pavilions were so constructed that the princes could, from them, behold the sacrifice going on, but the princes were not there on the occasion in question. The second is a mere assumption. The legends of the Kshatriyas of the house of Bharata show them to have been as unruly as the Yadavas, with whom they were intimately connected by marital and other ties. Besides the very fact of the Kshatriyas of the house of Bharata having been scrupulously observant of order and law, would, in a question of so much importance as precedence, suggest the idea of resenting affronts. The higher the civilization, the more troublesome becomes the settlement of the table of precedence and court etiquette. To Englishmen familiar with the heart-burning which often results even from mistakes in leading persons to the private dinner table, it would not be difficult to conceive how a slight of that description at a grand ceremonial would be calculated to irritate the proud spirit of ancient warriors, and it is well known that the Hindus have always been most punctilious in this respect. Further, if in 1870 of the Christian era, a Kshatriya chief, the Rana of Jodhpur, could so far carry his recusancy on a question of precedence, as to necessitate his expulsion from British territory within twenty-four hours, it would by no means be unreasonable to suppose that an ancestor of his could commit himself in a similar manner three thousand years ago. The third is due to an oversight; for had the critic looked to the wording

* History of India, I., p. 171.

of the chapter on the Rájasúya in the Aitariya Bráhmaṇa, he would have found that it does not profess to give the whole of the ritual, but only "the Shastras and Stotras required at the Soma day of the Rájasúya,"* and its evidence therefore is immaterial. The fourth has arisen from a misapprehension of the real nature of the rite. An emperor doing honour to his guests, does no more thereby lower himself in his majesty than does the father-in-law become inferior to a bridegroom who accepts the position of a son, by offering him an *arghya*. The fifth, like the second, is a mere assumption. There is not a tittle of evidence to show that the Buddhists originated the *arghya* by way of protest to the sacrifices of the Vedas, and there is nothing in the *arghya* decidedly and exclusively characteristic of Buddhism. The Buddhists were not foreigners importing foreign customs and manners, but schismatics who, like the followers of Luther and Wicliffe, rejected all idolatrous, unmeaning, and superstitious rituals and observances, but retained all social rules and customs of their forefathers. Even Piyadasi, the greatest opponent of Hinduism, did not think it inconsistent with his principle to enjoin, in his rock edicts, due respect to Bráhmaṇs. *A priori* it is, therefore, to be supposed that the Buddhists did not reject so innocent a custom as that of offering flowers and incense to a guest. The Hindu-hating Muhammadans adopted it from the Hindus. Besides, the Buddhists do not in the present day offer *arghyas*, and, except in their Tantras, avowedly borrowed from the Hindus, there is no mention of the rite in their ancient books.

To turn however to the Rájasúya of the Páṇḍavas. The tumult having subsided, the crowning act of the long protracted sacrifice was duly performed. The consecrated water was with all solemnity sprinkled on the newly-created emperor, allegiance was acknowledged by all the guests, and the ceremony was brought to a conclusion amidst the cheers and congratulations of one and all. The guests now dispersed, the chiefs with every mark of honour and consideration, each being accompanied by a brother of Yudhisṭhira to the confines of the Ráj; and the Bráhmaṇs loaded with the most costly gifts.

Mr. Wheeler opines that "the so-called Rájás who really attended the Rájasúya were, in all probability, a rude company of half-naked warriors, who feasted boisterously beneath the shade of trees. Their conversation was very likely confined to their domestic relations, such as the state of their health, of their families, the exploits of their sons, and the marriages of their daughters; or to their domestic circumstances, such as herds of cattle, harvests of grain, and feats of arms against robbers and wild beasts. Their highest ideas were probably simple conceptions of the gods who sent heat and rain; who gave long life, abundance of children, prolific cattle, and brimming harvests; and who occasionally manifested their wrath in light-

* Haug's Translation, p. 495.

ning and thunder, in devastating tempests and destroying floods. Such, in all probability, was the general character of the festive multitude who sat down upon the grass at the great feast, to eat and drink vigorously to the honour and glory of the new Rájá.* As a fancy sketch of what a race of primitive savages may be expected to do at a feast this is perfect. From our knowledge of the Juangahs of Western Orissa, of the Santáls of the Kharakpur Hills, and of the Kharwárs of Rohtás, we can easily perceive the natural exactitude of the picture in every line. But those who have read the Mahábhárata in the original, cannot but think that it is not authorised by a single syllable to be met with in that work; and as we have to deal with the account of the feast as given in it, and not what the materials were on which it is founded, the sketch seems somewhat out of place. If we are to resolve the tents (awnings) under which the Bráhmaṇs were lodged, the mansions provided for the royal guests, the assembly hall, the golden seats, the crystal fountains and mirrors, the presents of rich stuffs, horses, golden trappings, and highly prized incenses, the stewards, croupiers, chamberlains, the court etiquette, heralds, and ambassadors, to a motley crowd of "half naked savages feasting under trees, seated on the grass," what is there to prevent our rejecting the whole as a myth?—the baseless fabric of a poet's vision, unworthy of being reckoned as an historic description? Mr. Wheeler attributes them to interpolations made by the Bráhmaṇical priestcraft long after the original of the Mahábhárata had been compiled. Now, the account of the Rájásúya given in that work appears under five heads, omitting the first on consultation which is of no interest. The heads are: 1st, the assassination of Jarásantha; 2nd, the conquest of the four quarters; 3rd, the sacrifice; 4th, the offering of the *arghya*; and 5th, the destruction of Sísupála. Of these the first and the second are, according to the critic, "evidently a myth of the Bráhmaṇical compilers who sought to promulgate the worship of Kṛishṇa." The third, he believes to be, "an extravagant exaggeration" of a feast celebrated by "half-naked savages under the shade of trees"; and the last two, he suspects, are partly borrowed from the Buddhists, and partly from the traditions of the Yádavas, and engrafted on the original story of the Páṇḍavas. Thus, out of the five chapters we have four entirely rejected, and an insignificant residuum of one accepted in a sense which the words of the text do not openly admit. The obvious inference under the circumstances should be that the work in its entirety is a forgery, and not that an original has been tampered with and corrupted. In that case, however, the whole fabric of the learned author's "Ancient India", founded on the Mahábhárata, must fall to the ground.

If nineteen-twentieths of an account are to be rejected, and the remaining twentieth is to be so transmogrified as to be utterly unlike the original,

* History of India, I, p. 167.

it would be quite misleading to put it forth as a picture of that original. Even if it be true, it would be like the skeleton of Hercules put forth as Hercules in flesh and blood, or an uncarved stone of the Parthenon put forth to represent the character of that renowned work of art. Doubtless, the Pándavas were a primitive people, and twelve hundred years before the Christian era, it would be unreasonable to look, among them, for the refinements of the nineteenth century ; but the question before us is as to what the state of civilization was which they had attained, and to reject the only available evidence in the case, the Mahábhárata, on the *à priori* assumption that, inasmuch as they must have been the counterparts of the Juangahs of our day, they could not have been so civilized as to command houses and tents, or the comforts and conveniences of furniture and clothing, is, to say the least, an unphilosophical mode of argument. To create one's own major, in order to deduce therefrom a foregone conclusion, is not the most logical method for the unravelling of the tangled maze of historical truth. The question, besides, suggests itself, if the Pándavas were really naked savages, what had they to do with the rite of the Rájasúya? It is impossible to conceive that their circumstances remaining as they are the Juangahs or the Andamanese could think of such a politico-religious rite, and in the case of persons of their condition three thousand years ago, such an idea would be totally unwarrantable. We have the authority of the Aitareya Bráhmaṇa of the Rig Veda, and the Saṅhitás and the Bráhmaṇas of the Black and the White Yajur Vedas, whose antiquity and authenticity are unimpeached, to show that the rite under notice was well known to the Aryans from a very remote period of antiquity, and the description given in those works of the rite and its requirements, indicates that the social and political condition of their authors was considerably more advanced than those of men who have no higher conception of a solemn religious rite than entering into a drinking bout, seated on the grass under the shade of trees. The Pándavas, if such a family ever lived, must have lived either before the date of the Vedas, or after it. In the former case, they could not have performed the ceremony, for the ceremony had not been then designed. If the latter, they must have known the Vedic ordinances, and been in a condition to follow them. And in either case the theory of naked savages feasting under the shade of trees to celebrate the rite in question must be given up as untenable. The story of the Pándavas may, for aught we know to the contrary, be all a myth, even as that of the Iliad founded, as supposed by some, on an allegory of the Dawn chased by the rising sun ; but as in the latter case the Iliad must be accepted as a history of the inner life of men and manners in the earliest days of the Greeks, so must the Mahábhárata be accepted as a record of the life of the Aryans in India a few centuries before the time when the Iliad was composed ; and in the account of the

Rájásúya we cannot help accepting a picture of what at least was the ideal of such a rite in those days.

The Mahábhárata does not give any sample of the conversations of the assembled guests at the Rájásúya. The Bráhmaṇs are said to have discoursed about the particular forms in which certain ceremonies had to be performed, but the *ipsissima verba* of their discourses are not given. The speeches of Sísupála, denouncing the claim of Kṛishṇa to the *arghya*, are fluent and fiery, though not quite so elevated in tone as some of the Homeric speeches are; but such as they are, we cannot gather from them any idea of the common topics of private conversation of the guests. It is probable, however, that Mr. Wheeler is perfectly right in his guess about them. Warriors in olden times were rarely noted for their literary acquirements or polish, and some roughness was inseparable from them even in Europe two hundred years ago; and the private conversation of such men could not take a very lofty tone. It is extremely doubtful if at Versailles during the coronation of Emperor William, the guests among themselves discussed on transcendental philosophy. Certain it is that even in our own day a little less of sensational talk and private scandal at tea parties and private gatherings would be a positive gain to society. Anyhow under no circumstance can the staple of private conversation among particular groups of men help us to any exact idea of the social and intellectual condition of a whole race or tribe.

As to the ideas of the Páṇḍavas regarding the Divinity, some of the mantras quoted below will, we think, be found to be much more reliable guides, than any guesses based on *à priori* arguments.

The rituals of the Rájásúya do not appear in the Mahábhárata even in a brief summary. It did not fall within the scope of that work—an avowedly epic poem—to dwell upon so dry and recondite a subject; nor is there, as already stated, any single treatise or guide-book extant in which the whole of the details may be found arranged consecutively. The Saṅhitá of the Rig Veda, which supplies some of the principal mantras of the rite, has nowhere used the word Rájásúya. The Sáma is equally silent, and so is the Atharva. One of the Bráhmaṇas of the Rig Veda, the Aitareya, however, devotes an entire book to the rites of the last day of the sacrifice on which the king is made to sit on a throne, consecrated with holy water, driven in a chariot, and offered a goblet each of the *Soma* beer and arrack; and also specifies a few of the hymns which are to be recited in connexion with some of the different ceremonials and offerings which make them up. The only subject which it describes at any length is the *abhisheka*, or the pouring of consecrated water on the king and its attendant rites. The Saṅhitá of the Mádhyandini Sákhá of the White Yajush treats of the subject at a greater length, and supplies most of the mantras required; but the mantras occur dispersed under different heads. The Taittiriya Saṅhitá of the Black Yajush and its

corresponding Bráhmana, however, make ample amends for the shortcomings of the others. They treat of the rite in nearly its entirety from the beginning to the end, and supply by direct citations or references all the mantras required to be muttered while making the various offerings to the fire, and those which should precede, or follow, the offerings, as also those which are required for bathing, drinking, mounting a car, and other formalities and ceremonies which have to be gone through. They are silent, however, as to the particular stages of the rite when the Rig mantras are to be repeated, and the Sáma hymns to be chanted, and these we know from other sources are inseparable from the rites prescribed by the Yajur Veda. The details, too, as given are insufferably tedious and puerile in some respects, and vexatiously obscure and unintelligible in others. Instructions are also wanting as to how often the rites are to be repeated, and how the time over which they spread is to be filled up.

It appears that the Rájasúya, as a religious sacrifice, was not a distinct and independent ceremony, but a collection of several separate rites celebrated consecutively, according to a given order, and spreading over a period of twelve months. It required the services of several priests, and unlimited supplies of butter, rice, sacrificial animals, *Soma* wine, and other articles appropriate for a Yajña, as also frequent and heavy presents of gold and kine to the priests and Bráhmanas.

The time allotted to the preliminary rites was divided into three equal periods, each of which bore a separate name, and during each a particular round of ceremonies had to be gone through. From the number of months included in each of the three periods its most appropriate name would be a *Cháturmásya*, or a 'quadrimesial rite'; but the name, it seems, did not originate merely from the fact of there being four months in each period, but from the circumstance of the time being devoted to the performance of a sacrificial rite of that name prescribed in the Vedas. It commenced usually when the 14th and the 15th of the waxing moon of the month of Phálguna, (February—March) came into conjunction; but in the event of an accident on that day the new moon of the month of Chaitra (March—April) was deemed the next best, and offerings were made, at morning, noon and evening, regularly every day for four lunar months; the Darśa and the Púrnamása rites being celebrated alternately on the successive new and full moons, and the Prayujá rite on every full moon. The Cháturmásya was ordained for both Bráhmanas and Kshatriyas, and was held in great veneration. When the Buddhist set aside the old Vedic rites, they could not altogether reject the Cháturmásya, so they retained the name, but changed its character. Instead of in March, they commenced the rite at about the end of June, or early in July; and in lieu of offerings to the fire, they took to systematic and formal reading of their scriptures. The rains

rendered travelling and itinerary mendicancy inconvenient, and shelter under the roof of a hermitage, or monastery, was an absolute necessity; and the period of this confinement was, therefore, the best adapted for reading and particular forms of penance. From the circumstance of the ceremony being observed in the rainy weather, it had the alternative name of *Wassá* or "the autumnal rite." When Hinduism revived, the Cháturmásya could not be conveniently sent back to the season when it was originally celebrated, so in the modern calender it begins on the 11th of the waning moon in Śrávaṇa (July), and terminates on the 11th of the waxing moon in Kártika, (October—November); though the ceremony is not finally closed until the full moon following. Women and hermits are the principal observers of this ceremony in the present day, and it is made up of a series of fasts and penances: some abstaining from the evening meal, or rice altogether; some taking their food served on the bare ground; some giving up the use of bedsteads; others eschewing the use of betel leaf, condiments and rich food of all kinds. Abstinence from flesh meat and fish, from fine clothing, and from indulgence in singing, dancing, and music are obligatory on all. In some of its features the new rite bears a close resemblance to the Lent of the Christian Church, and, curiously enough, its old prototype, the Vedic rite, commenced at about the same time.

The sacrifice opened with the cooking of eight pots of frumenty for a divinity named Anumiti, who, according to some, is the presiding spirit of the interval between the 14th and the 15th lunation, but, in the opinion of others, that of fertile land. The frumenty being duly consecrated and offered, a fee of one milch cow was to be given to the priest. The object of this offering was to pacify the earth and make her agreeable and favourably disposed to the sacrifice. Then followed an offering of one potful of frumenty to Nirriti, the personation of barren land, or the evil genius which causes mischief and interruptions to the progress of the rite. The fee (*Dakshiná*) for this offering was a piece of black cloth with a black fringe; and this offering had to be made while standing at the doorway, so as to protect the sacrificial hall from her encroachment. Offerings next followed to Aditya, Vishṇu, Agni, Indra, Soma, and Sarasvatí, to each a specific number of platters of the frumenty, and an appropriate fee for the priest who consecrated those offerings on the fire. The fee varied from a bit of gold to a calf, a bull, or one or two milch cows. The full-moon rite, Púrṇamása, was then performed with offerings of *Soma* beer and animal sacrifice as ordained under that head in the Vedas.

After this preliminary homa, the rites proper of the first Cháturmásya, which bore the specific name of *Vaiśvadeva Parva*, began. These included a daily round of offerings, morning, noon, and evening, the articles offered being mostly clarified butter and frumenty cooked with grains

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of various kinds, not excepting several species of wild grass, the seeds of which, though now no longer thought of as edible, seem to have been prized not only as articles fit for presentation to the gods but as nutritious food. The mantras of course differed for every separate offering, and the ritual was very scrupulously fixed for the morning, noon, and evening observances; but for the successive days there was little or no change, except on the successive new and full moons when the Darśa and the Púrṇamása were celebrated with the usual offerings of *Soma* beer, and the priests and their congregations regaled themselves with the intoxicating beverage. One of the mantras from the Black Yajur Bráhmaṇa contains a curious reference to an iron instrument put inside the mouth for governing and guiding horses. This completely refutes the accuracy of the statement made by Arrian that the Indians at the time of Alexander's invasion knew not the use of the bit or snaffle, and tied a piece of raw bullock's hide round the lower part of the horse's jaw.* The name for the bit or snaffle in the olden days was *ádhána*.† Subsequently the word *khalina* was substituted.

The second period of four months bore the name of *Varuṇa-praghása Parva*. It commenced in the month of Āsádha (June—July), or Śrávaṇa (July—August), according as the first period commenced in Phálguna or Chaitra. The articles of offering during this period included, besides the frumenty, grains, clarified butter, &c., an occasional allowance of mutton. The arrangement of the altars was slightly changed, and the mantras used were mostly different, but the gods invoked were the same, and the alternate celebration of the Darśa and the Púrṇamása rites, as also of the Prayujá, was regularly continued.

The third period opened with the performance of a group of rites called the *Sákamedha Parva*, which took up two days, the first devoted to three homas, and the second to nine homas, and three offerings to the manes—*Mahápitri yajña*. The homas of the second day were designed for the Maruts. It is said that “Indra having destroyed Vritra, ran away, thinking that he had done wrong. (Meeting the Maruts in the way) he asked, ‘Who can ascertain this (whether I have killed Vritra or not)?’ The Maruts replied, ‘We shall give you the blessing, and ascertain the fact; do you give us the first oblation.’ They then played about (on the corpse of Vritra and were satisfied that it was lifeless). Hence the play of players, and therefore are the oblations first given to the Maruts for success in warfare.” The details of the offering to the manes were very much like what is well known in connexion with the ordinary śráddhas, but the mantras were different, and the rite was looked upon with special veneration.

* *Vide* Mitra's *Antiquities of Orissa*, I. p. 128.

† ऋक्सामे वा इन्द्रस्य हरी सोमपानौ । तयोः परिधेय आधानं । हरी अश्वौ तयो-
र्वशीकरणाय मुखे प्रचिप्ते लोहविशेष आधानं । *Black Yajur Saṅhitá*, II. p. 27.

It was followed, on a subsequent day, by another feast for the manes, and it was called *Tryambaka Purodása*. In this the spirit of each ancestor had a separate platter of cake or ball of barley steeped in ghí, and an extra one was designed for those who would ascend the region of the Manes (Pitris) at a future time. The balls of course, as usual in *śráddhas*, were consecrated, but not put on the ground. They were thrown upwards and received back on the palm of the hand. The divinity invoked afterwards was Rudra, who is described as a cruel god, with three eyes—*tri* ‘three,’ and *ambaka* ‘eyes,’ whence the name of the rite. *Ambá* is referred to as the wife of the god. The object of the rite seems to have been the prevention of the destruction of crops by vermin, through the pacification of their lord, who is described as the “master of rats.”* To the modern Indian reader, this passage will appear remarkable, as it is universally known in the present day, as it was in those of the *Purānas*, that the rat was the favourite of *Gañésa*, the son of Rudra, and not of Rudra himself. There is, however, no contradiction, as the vehicle of the son may well be a favourite of the father. As during the two preceding periods, so in this, the *Darśa*, the *Púrṇamása* and the *Prayujá* rites were celebrated with a lavish consumption of *Soma* beer, but in the absence of a manual I cannot ascertain if the *Homas* and the *Śráddhas* were repeated every fortnight: (apparently they were,) and how the other days of the period were occupied. The *Sastras* and *Sáma* hymns of this period are also unknown to me.

On the completion of the three quadrimensial rites extending over a period of one year, four separate rites were enjoined for the first day of the new year. The first of these was called *Súnasírya*, and it included offerings of twelve platters of frumenty to Indra and Agni; one platterful of the same to the *Viśvedevás*, twelve platters of cakes to Indra as a combination of *Súná* ‘wind,’ and *Síra* ‘the sun,’ milk to *Váyu*, and one platterful to *Súrya*. The fee to the priest for the rite was twelve heads of kine.

The next was called *Indra túrya* or “Indra the fourth,” the other three associates being Agni, Rudra, and *Varuṇa*. It included offerings of eight plattersful of frumenty to Agni, a platterful of the same made of a kind of wild paddy, called *Gávidhuka*, to Rudra, curdled milk to Indra, and frumenty made of barley to *Varuṇa*. The fee for this rite was a cow fit to carry loads.

The third rite, called *Pañchedhmíya*, was performed at night, when five loads of different kinds of wood were offered to the fire along with clarified butter. The object of this rite was to prevent *Rákshasas* from causing interruptions. The last rite was called *Apámarga Homa*, because it was accomplished by offering, at early dawn, a handful of meal made of the seeds of a wild weed named *Apámarga*, (*Acheranthes aspra*) on a burning fagot.

* आखुस्ते रुद्र । Commentary हे रुद्र मूषकस्ते प्रियः पशुः ।

The story in connexion with this rite says ; “ once on a time Indra, having destroyed Vritra and other Aśuras, failed to find out the Aśura Namuchi. At last he seized him, and the two wrestled together ; Indra was overpowered, and on the point of being killed ; when the Aśura told him, ‘ Let us enter into an agreement for peace, and I shall let you alone ; promise only that you will not attempt to kill me with a dry or a fluid substance, nor during day nor at night.’ (The agreement was accordingly ratified, but Indra was not satisfied.) He collected some foam, which was neither dry nor moist, and, at dawn, when the sun had not risen, which was neither day nor night in this region, struck the head of the Aśura with that foam. The Aśura complained that he (Indra) was a murderer of his friend. From the head (of the Aśura) was produced the herb Apámarga. Performing a homa with that herb, he (Indra) destroyed the Rákshasas.”*

For the day following six rites were enjoined, including offerings to some of the minor deities who protect infants from their conception to the time when they learn to speak. The articles offered call for no remark. The fee in four cases was one or more cows of particular colour or quality, gold in one, and a horse in the last.

The rites aforesaid were all performed in the king’s own sacrificial hall, where the necessary altars were prepared for the purpose. But after the last-named rite, some offerings had to be made on successive days in the houses of his subjects, and they were collectively called *Raterinám Havi* or “ the rite of the wealthy.” The first offering was made to Vṛishaspati in the house of the High Priest Brahmá ; the second to Indra, in the house of a Kshatriya ; the third to Aditya, in the house of the anointed Queen ; the fourth to Nirṛiti, in that of the queen who is not a favourite ; the fifth to Agni, in that of the Commander-in-Chief ; the sixth to Varuṇa, in that of the charioteer ; the seventh to the Maruts, in that of a public prostitute ; the eighth to Savitá, in that of the chamberlain or warder of the gymnasium ; the ninth to the Ásvins, in that of the treasurer ; the tenth to Pushan, in that of the ryot who shares the produce with the king ; the eleventh to Rudra, in that of a gambler. Each of these offerings had its appropriate fee. On the completion of these, two other rites, respectively called *Dikshaniya* and *Devasuvá*, had to be performed in the king’s own sacrificial hall. They occupied one day, and completed the preliminary rites necessary for the most important act of the sacrifice—the Imperial bathing or *Abhisheka*.

The account of the *Abhisheka* given in the White Yajur Bráhmaṇa is nearly as full as that which occurs in the Black Yajur, but the Bráhmaṇa of the latter which elaborates it is, at every step, interrupted by innumerable little stories of no interest.

* Taittirya Sañhitá, Vol. II. p. 95.

The religious rites performed on the last day of the great sacrifice were twofold—one appertaining to the celebration of an ephemeral (*aikáhika*) *Soma* sacrifice with its morning, noon and evening libations, its animal sacrifices, its numerous Shastras and Stotras, and its chorus of Sáma hymns, and the other relating to the bathing and its attendant acts of mounting a car, symbolically conquering the whole earth, receiving the homage of the priests, and quaffing a goblet of *Soma* beer and another of arrack, together with the rites appertaining thereto.

The proper time for the ceremony was the new moon after the full moon of Phálguna, *i. e.*, at about the end of March. The fluids required for the bathing were of seventeen kinds according to the Mádhyandiniya school of the White Yajush, and “sixteen or seventeen” according to the Taittiriya-kas. The former, however, gives a list of 18 kinds* ; thus—1st, the water

* The discrepancy is explained by taking the Sárasvatí water to be the principal ingredient, and the others the regular ritual articles. For the Abhisheka of Vaishnavite idols of wood, stone or metal, recommended by later rituals, the articles required are considerably more numerous, but they do not include all those which the Vedas give above. Thus, they enumerate, 1st, clarified butter ; 2nd, curds ; 3rd, milk ; 4th, cow-dung ; 5th, cow's urine ; 6th, ashes of bull's dung ; 7th, honey ; 8th, sugar ; 9th, Ganges water or any pure water ; 10th, water of a river which has a masculine name ; 11th, water of a river which has a feminine name ; 12th, ocean water ; 13th, water from a waterfall ; 14th, water from clouds ; 15th, water from a sacred pool ; 16th, water in which some fruits have been steeped ; 17th, water in which five kinds of astringent leaves have been steeped ; 18th, hot water ; 19th, water dripping from a vessel having a thousand holes in its bottom ; 20th, water from a jar having some mango leaves in it ; 21st, water from eight pitchers ; 22nd, water in which kusa grass has been steeped ; 23rd, water from a jar used in sprinkling holy water (*sántikumbha*) ; 24th, sandal-wood water ; 25th, water scented with fragrant flowers ; 26th, water scented with fried grains ; 27th, water scented with Jatámansi and other aromatics ; 28th, water scented with certain drugs collectively called Mahaushadhi ; 29th, water in which five kinds of precious stones have been dipped ; 30th, earth from the bed of the Ganges ; 31st, earth dug out by the tusk of an elephant ; 32nd, earth from a mountain ; 33rd, earth from the hoof of a horse ; 34th, earth from around the root of a lotus ; 35th, earth from a mound made by white-ants ; 36th, sand from the bed of a river ; 37th, earth from the point where two rivers meet ; 38th, earth from a boar's lair ; 39th, earth from the opposite banks of a river ; 40th, cake of pressed sesamum seed ; 41st, leaves of the ásvattha ; 42nd, mango leaves ; 43rd, leaves of the Mimosa arjuna ; 44th, leaves of a particular variety of ásvattha ; 45th, flowers of the Champaka ; 46th, blossoms of the mango ; 47th, flowers of the Sami ; 48th, Kunda flowers ; 49th, lotus flower ; 50th, oleander flowers ; 51st, Nagakesara flowers ; 52nd, Tulsi leaves powdered ; 53rd, Bel leaves powdered ; 54th, leaves of the kunda ; 55th, Barley meal ; 56th, meal of the Nivára grain (a wild paddy) ; 57th, Powdered sesamum seed, 58th, powder of Sati leaves, 59th, turmeric powder, 60th, meal of the Syámáka grain, 61st, powdered ginger, 62nd, powder of Priyangu seeds ; 63rd, rice meal ; 64th, powder of Bel leaves ; 65th, powder of the leaves of the Amblic myrobalan ; 66th, meal of the kangni seed. The usual practice is to place a mirror before the idol, then to fill a small pitcher with pure

of the Sarasvatí river, (*Sárasvatí*); 2nd, water from a pool or river while in a state of agitation from the fall of something into it, (*Kallola*); 3rd, water disturbed by the passage of an army over a ford (*Vrisasená*); 4th, water taken during an ebb tide, (*Arthetá*); 5th, water taken during a flood tide (*Ojashvatí*); 6th, water from the point of junction of two streams produced by a sandbank in a river (*Pariváhini*); 7th, sea-water (*Apámpatí*); 8th, water from a whirlpool (*Apángarbhá*); 9th, water from a pool in a river where there is no current, (*Súryatvak*); 10th, rain water which falls during sunshine, (*Súryavarchhas*); 11th, tank water (*Mándá*); 12th, well-water, (*Vrajakshitá*); 13th, dew-drops collected from the tops of grass blades, (*Vásá*); 14th, honey (*Savishthá*); 15th, liquor amnion, (*S'akvari*); 16th, milk (*Janabhrit*); 17th, clarified butter, (*Viśvabhrit*); 18th, water heated by exposure to the sun, (*Svarát.*) These waters were collected at proper seasons and opportunities, and kept in reserve in pitchers near the northern altar. On the day of the ceremony eighteen small vessels made of the wood of the *Ficus glomerata* (*Udumbara*) or of the *Calamas rotang* (*vetasa*) were provided, and the Adhvaryu, proceeding to the first pitcher, drew some water from it into one of the vessels while repeating the mantra, "O honeyed water whom the Devas collected, thou mighty one, thou begotten of kings, thou enlivener; with thee Mitra and Varuṇa were consecrated, and Indra was freed from his enemies; I take thee." He next drew some water from the second pitcher, with the mantra "O water, thou art naturally a giver of kingdoms, grant a kingdom to my Yajamána so and so (naming the king)", and then poured into the vessel butter taken four times in a ladle, a mantra being repeated to consecrate the operation of pouring. In this way all the eighteen vessels being filled and consecrated in due form, their contents were all poured into a large bucket made of the same wood, while repeating the verse, "O honeyed and divine ones, mix with each other for the promotion of the strength and royal vigour of our Yajamána." The mixture was then removed to the altar opposite the place of Mitrávaruṇa. The bucket being thus placed, six offerings were made to the six divinities, Agni, Soma, Savitá, Sarasvatí, Pushá, and Vrihaspatí. Two slips of Kusa grass were next taken up, a bit of gold was tied to each, and the slips thus prepared were then dipped into the bucket, and a little water was taken out with them, and sprinkled on the king while

water, drop in it a small quantity of one of the articles in the order above named, and lastly to pour the mixture on the reflected image, through a rosehead called *śata-jhára*, similar to the gold vessel with a hundred perforations described above. This symbolical bathing is found expedient to prevent the paint, and polish of the idols being soiled and tarnished. In the case of unbaked idols the necessity for it is imperative, and the bathing is more simple, summary and expeditious.

repeating the mantra, "I sprinkle this by order of Savitá, with a faultless thread of grass (*pavitra*)—with the light of the sun. You are, O waters, unassailable, the friends of speech, born of heat, the giver of Soma, and the sanctified by mantra, do ye grant a kingdom (to our Yajamána.)"

Four buckets were next brought out, one made of Palása wood, (*Butea frondosa*) one of Udumbara (*Ficus glomerata*), one of Vaṭa (*Ficus indica*), and one of Ásvattha (*Ficus religiosa*), and the collected waters in the bucket were divided into four parts, and poured into them.

The king was then made to put on his bathing dress, consisting of an inner garment for the loins (*tárpya*) made of linen or cotton cloth steeped in clarified butter, a red blanket for the body (*Pañḍya*), an outer wrapper tied round the neck like a barber's sheet (*adhivása*), and a turban (*ushṇísá*). A bow was then brought forth, duly strung, and then handed to the king, along with three kinds of arrows, for all which appropriate mantras are provided.

The Adhvaryu then, taking the right hand of the king, repeated the two following mantras: (1st) May Savitá appoint you as the sovereign of the people. May Agni, the adored of householders, appoint you the ruler of all householders. May Soma, the sovereign of the vegetable kingdom, grant you supremacy over vegetables. May Vrihaspati, the developer of speech, bestow on you power over speech. May Indra, the eldest, make you the eldest over all. May Rudra, the lord of animals, make you supreme over all animals. May truthful Mitra make you the protector of truth. May Varuṇa, the defender of virtuous actions, grant you lordship over virtue." (2nd). "O well-worshipped gods, Do you free so and so (naming the king), the son of so and so (naming the father and mother of the king), from all enemies, and enable him to be worthy of the highest duties of Kshatriyas, of the eldest, of the lord of vehicles, and of supremacy. Through your blessings he has become the king of such a nation (naming it). O ye persons of that nation, from this day, he is your king. Of us Bráhmaṇs, Soma is the king." The concluding line of the last mantra is worthy of note, as it exempts the Bráhmaṇs from the sovereignty of the anointed king.

A few offerings to the fire next followed, and the king was then made emblematically to conquer the four quarters of the earth and the sky. Making him advance successively towards the east, north, south, and west, the Adhvaryu said, "Yajamána, conquer the earth. May the metre Gáyatri, the Ráthántara Sáma hymn, the Stoma named Trivit, the spring season and the Bráhmaṇ caste protect you on this side." "Yajamána, conquer the south. May the metre Trisṭup, the Brihat Sáma hymn, the fifteen-fold Stoma, the summer season and the Kshatriya caste protect you there." "Yajamána, conquer the west. May the metre Jagati, the Vairupa Sáma hymns, the seventeen-fold Stoma, the rainy season and the Vaiśya caste protect

you there.” “Yajamána, conquer the north. May the metre Anushtup, the Vairája Sáma hymns, the twenty-one-fold Stoma, the Autumn season, and the fruits of the earth protect you there.” The king was then made to look upwards, and while he did so, the Adhvaryu recited a mantra saying, “Yajamána, conquer the upper regions. May the metre Pañkti, the Sakvara and the Raivata Sáma hymns, the three-fold-nine and the thirty-three-fold Stomas, the dewy and the cold seasons, Vigour and Dravina wealth protect you there.”

A stool, made of the wood of the *Mimosa catechu* (*Khadira*) or of the *Ficus glomerata*, having feet about seven inches high, had next to be provided, and thereon was spread a tiger skin with the hairy side upwards and the head looking to the south, the mantra for the purpose saying, that even as the skin was the glory of the moon so should it confer glory on the king. On the skin was placed a *S'atamána*, a bit of gold of the weight of a hundred measures,* or a coin of that name—probably the latter. Seated on this bathing stool facing the east, the king had a vessel of gold, weighing a *S'atamána* and having nine or a hundred perforations in its bottom, placed on his head. A piece of copper was also placed under his left foot, and a piece of lead under his right foot. The vessel was intended to serve as a rose-head for the fluid for the bathing falling in a shower over the head of the king; the copper as the emblem of the head of Namuchi, the chief of the Asuras or Demons, who were inimical to religious rites, and the lead that of tatlers and wicked people who had to be put down. The mantras intended to be recited when placing the three articles indicate their character. The king recited the mantras, and then kicked away the metals from under his feet. After this, he lifted his two hands upwards, repeating appropriate mantras, in one of which he promised to rise before the sun every day, and remained in that position. Thereupon, the Adhvaryu came forward and stood in front of him with the bucket made of Palása wood in his hand. The High Priest or a relative of the king stood on the right side with the bucket of Udumbara wood, and a Kshatriya on the left with the bucket made of Nyagrodha wood, while a Vaiśya stood behind with the bucket made of Ásvattha wood, and each on his turn, in the order named, poured the contents of his bucket on the king's head. The mantra to be recited when about to pour the water runs thus: “May king Soma and Varuṇa and the other

* The Scholiast takes the *S'atamána* to be equivalent to a hundred *krishṇalas* or *ratis*; which would be equal to 175 Troy grains; but the researches of the learned Mr. Thomas clearly prove that the *mána* was nearly treble the weight of the *rati*, and that the *S'atamána* was equivalent to 320 *ratis* or 560 Troy grains, which made it equal to four of the well-known old coin *Suvarṇa*, which weighed 140 grains Troy—something like the Greek Tetradrachma, but about twice its weight, and of gold. Marsden's *Numismata Orientalia*, New Ed., p. 5.

gods who are the defenders of religion protect thy speech ; may they protect thy vital airs ; may they protect thy eyes ; may they protect thy ears." The mantra for the Adhvaryu when pouring the water from his bucket, says, " O Yajamána, I bathe thee with the glory of the moon ; may you be king of kings among kings ; may you prosper in every way ; may you overcome all your enemies. O ye well worshipped Devas, may you free so and so (here the name of the king) the son of so and so (here the names of his father and mother) from all his enemies, and enable him to discharge the highest duties of the Kshatriya, of the eldest, of the owner of the best vehicles, and of his own greatness. Through your blessings he has become the king of such a nation (name). Know ye of that nation, that he has this day become your king. Of us, Bráhmanas, Soma is the king." For the Brahmá the mantra is similar to the last, substituting only " the glory of Agni," for that of the moon, and omitting the names. The Vaisya appealed to the glory of God, and the Kshatriya the light of the sun.

The baptism over, the Emperor descended from his seat, cast off his wet clothes, put on his regal dress including hogskin shoes, and then took three steps forward, symbolically to represent the subjugation of the three regions, repeating for each act a separate mantra. The three steps were the counterparts of those by which Vishnu spanned the earth, the upper regions and heaven, or those of the sun at sunrise, midday and sunset. The Adhvaryu in the meantime offered an oblation to the fire, and the Agnidhra, collecting a portion of the water that had run over the Emperor's person, poured a portion of it on the fire in the name of Rudra.

A chariot was next brought into the sacrificial hall, and to it three horses were yoked, and two charioteers were made to take their places on its two sides. The White Yajush recommends four horses. The Emperor, having taken his seat, ordered the charioteers to proceed, and they whipped the horses, and drove them on until the vehicle was brought in front of a herd of cattle, when the Emperor touched the foremost cow with the top of his bow, the operation being emblematic of a successful cattle-lifting raid. The vehicle was then turned and brought back to its place near the altar, when the Adhvaryu offered four oblations to the fire, in the names of Agni, Soma, Maruts and Indra, and the Emperor, while descending from his chariot, recited a mantra, saying, " Him who is the pure soul, (Hañsa), Him, who is the pervader of the ether, Him, who presides as the Hotá at the altar, Him who is the long-travelled guest, Him, who, born of water, reigns in every human form, Him who enlivens all animals, Him who controls the seasons, Him who sustains the mountains, Him, the all-pervading and the mighty one, I adore." Having descended from the car, he touched the two *Satamánas* which had been previously attached to the two wheels of the vehicle.

A proper throne with a leather cushion was next prepared, and the Emperor, having taken his seat thereon, received the homage of his guests. The first person to approach him was the Adhvaryu, who, touching his breast, said, "If you desire to govern an empire, judge impartially between the great and the small; direct your entire attention to promote the prosperity of all; and exert your utmost to prevent all misadventure."

The Brahmá or High Priest next appeared before him and the following conversation passed between them.

The Emperor. "Bráhman."

Brahmá. "Thou art all-glorious. Thy behests can never be overruled. Thou art the asylum of the people, and therefore (as great as) Savitá."

Emperor "Bráhman."

Brahmá. "Thou art all-glorious. Thy might is infallible. Thou art the asylum of the people, and therefore (as great as) Varuṇa."

Emperor "Bráhman."

Brahmá. "Thou art all-glorious and the owner of every kind of wealth. Thou art the preserver of the peace of the country, and therefore Indra."

Emperor "Bráhman."

Brahmá. "Thou art all-glorious, the adored of all to whom thou art kind, and the cause of weeping to the women of your enemies, and therefore Rudra."

Emperor "Bráhman."

Brahmá. "Thou art all glorious, therefore like unto Brahmá."

The Purohit was next commanded to approach, and he handed the Emperor a sacrificial knife. This knife was made of hard wood, and in shape like a scymitar. With the point of this instrument, the Emperor had to draw on the ground a dice-board, and, offer thereon four oblations with butter to Agni. This done, the Adhvaryu handed over to him five dice, shaped like couris, made of gold, and these he cast on the board, saying, "O Ye dice which have been taken up after the offering of due oblations, do ye, mixing with the fierce rays of the sun, grant me supremacy among kings." If the dice when cast showed the full number on the upper surface, the augury was believed to be satisfactory.

After this augury the allies, tributaries, vassals and other guests offered their congratulations and homage; but as this was done without any mantra, no mention of it occurs in the ritual.

Now followed a rite called *Sañsripa Havi*, and it required eight plattersful of butter for Agni, frumenty for Sarasvatí, and twelve plattersful of butter for Savitá, the offering to each divinity being accompanied by an appropriate fee.

Next came the rite called *Daśapeya*. Preparations for it were made previously, and they included the purchase and expression of the juice of

the Soma vine, and the brewing of the same into beer. Immediately after the performance of the last named rite, a series of offerings were made to the fire with this beer, and then a cupful of it was offered to the Emperor, who quaffed it after repeating a mantra. He then presented largesses to all the officiating priests, including two golden mirrors to the Adhvaryu, a golden necklace and his own outer garment to the Udgátá, golden bracelets to the Hotá, a horse to the Prastotá and the Pritihartá, twelve heads of pregnant young heifers to the Brahmá, a barren cow to the Mitrávaruṇa, a vigorous bull to the Brahmanachhañsi, clothes to the Neshṭri and Potri, a cart loaded with barley to the Achchháváka, and a bullock to the Agnidhra.

Next followed certain offerings of butter, curds and frumenty to Agni, Indra, Viśvedeváh, Mitra, Varuṇa, and Vrihaspati, and the sacrifice of a pregnant goat having well developed teats under the neck to Aditya, and that of a pregnant heifer to the Maruts.

The last rite in this long list of ceremonies and sacrifices was called *Sautrámaṇi*, or the offering of rice spirit. Preparations for it were made from three days previously, when young dried dates (*krala*), small round plums (*vadari*), and myrobalans (*haritaki*) were brought, carefully cleaned, deprived of their stalks and calyces, and powdered, then three kinds of the fur—of the lion, the tiger and the wolf—were mixed with the powders, along with barley meal, yeast and tender blades of durba grass, and allowed to ferment in a large vessel of water. When the fermentation was complete, the liquor was strained and preserved for use. After the performance of the rite named in the last preceding para., a brown goat and a bull were sacrificed, and offerings were made with this liquor, as also with butter and frumenty, and the ceremony was closed by the Emperor quaffing a gobletful of the exhilarating liquor.

The rituals given in the Black and the White Yajush thus limit the Abhisheka to one sprinkling and one bathing; but the Aitareya Bráhmaṇa of the Rig Veda recommends three kinds of bathing: 1st, called *Abhisheka* for kings; 2nd, *Purnábhisheka* for superior kings, and 3rd, *Mahábhisheka* for emperors. Its details are different, but from the mantras given, the second bathing appears to correspond to a great extent with the ritual above given. The object of the third is thus described: "The priest who, with this knowledge (about the *Mahábhesheka* ceremony as described in a preceding part of the work) wishes that a Kshatriya should conquer in all the various ways of conquest, to subjugate all people, and that he should attain to leadership, precedence and supremacy over all kings, and attain everywhere and at all times to universal sovereignty, enjoyment (of pleasures), independence, distinguished distinction as a king, the fulfilment of the highest desires, the position of a king, of a great king, and supreme mastership, that he might cross (with his arms) the universe, and become the ruler of the whole earth

